

# PEACE NEWS

No. 343

JANUARY 8, 1943

2d.

## Those Germans! NOT ALL THE FACTS ARE UGLY

Even our Pollyannas are beginning to abandon their kindly excuses for the Germans. They are finding it harder every day to plead that Hitler's millions are gentle and decent folk, led momentarily astray by a few plausible blackguards. The ugly facts of massacre, torture, and pillage, committed avidly by those same millions, are making it brutally plain that the Germans of today, like the Germans of yesterday, are a race nurtured on militarism and violence.

In those words from an Evening News leading article last week you have the common propaganda "line" on the Germans. It reduces the more thoughtful reader to despair, for, in general, only "ugly facts" which support the theme are allowed to appear.

For that very reason it is desirable to give prominence to an authentic news-story which at least shows that not all the facts are ugly.

**T**HE story is that of Sergt. E. W. Littlecott, of the RAF, his wife, and their 5-year-old son David, who would not be alive today but for the simple human decency of a U-boat captain.

The Littlecott family, who reached home a couple of weeks ago, were on a ship which was torpedoed when homeward bound from South Africa. They hurriedly got away from the vessel in a lifeboat, the child still in pyjamas with a coat over him.

Let the story be continued in Mrs. Littlecott's own words:

"We got separated from the other boats during the night and then followed five weary days in the lifeboat. There were 84 of us on board, although the boat was only supposed to take 60, and the water and food had to be strictly rationed. We had two small drinks of water a day and a ship's biscuit.

"Just as it was getting dark on the fifth day, several German U-boats and an Italian submarine, surfaced near us and the captain of one of the U-boats shouted to us in good English to come alongside."

"We were all taken on board the U-boat. The women and children were taken below and the men remained on deck.

"I did not like going down into that maze of pipes and wheels, but the commander and first lieutenant reassured us, and I must say they and the crew were real gentlemen. They gave up their bunks to us, gave us hot food, and generally made us as comfortable as they possibly could.

### Wounds Dressed

"I was worried because I had been separated from my husband, but we later found that as there was no room for the men in the U-boat they had been given hot soup on deck and then returned to the lifeboat, which the U-boat took in tow for the night. The Germans dressed the wounds of several men who were injured by the torpedoes.

"The Commander was a very nice man. He said he regretted that it had been necessary to torpedo our ship, but it was war; adding that we need not worry, as the war was over as far as we were concerned.

"I thought by that remark that we should be taken to Germany, but evidently during the night they had called up a French cruiser by wireless as she appeared next day and took all the boat's complement on board and landed us at Casablanca.

"Before the U-boat appeared we had been trying to make for the land by sail, but it was a very slow business, as the boat was so heavy, and what might have happened to us but for the German submarine crew does not bear thinking about."

### Mercy Still Lives

That is not the whole story of their adventures, but it is all that concerns

### BOUNDLESS

#### JOY!

GERMAN mothers and fathers and sweethearts also share with British people the human feeling of joy on learning that their loved ones are prisoners in "enemy" hands, instead of corpses in their graves. This notice appeared in the Hamburger Fremdenblatt on Dec. 5, reported Reuter in the Southern Daily Echo, Dec. 14:

All our friends and relatives are informed of this good news; my dear fiancé and our future son-in-law, soldier Hans Woolk, is alive and in an English Prison Camp. With boundless joy. (Signed) Juliane Sonntag and her parents.

us now. It is sufficient to show that a U-boat captain is as capable as most other human beings of behaving mercifully within the limits of what he conceives to be his war duty.

It would be folly to argue that this story shows that all tales of cruelty are untrue. But it is equally stupid to hold—as the Evening News does—that atrocity-stories prove that the Germans as a people are "nurtured on militarism and violence."

For war inevitably gives opportunities to the man with a cruel streak, as well as to the compassionate—of whatever nationality.

This was confirmed from personal experience by G. F. Green, in a letter to the New Statesman last week. He explained that he was "a prisoner of war for two years and suffered under the 'retaliation' scheme behind the German lines in France and Flanders in 1917-18," and continued:

Let me say that I have witnessed and experienced shocking deeds of callousness and spite, and also many more instances of genuine human kindness, sympathy, and brotherhood on the part of the German armed forces, high and low. I have witnessed and experienced meanness and cruelty at the hands of the French and, behind the German lines, I have enjoyed the sight of sublime human courage, been inspired by the heroic example of fellow sufferers, and have seen French men and women run appalling risks to provide me with comfort and food.

But war only requires the deliberate infliction of suffering, not its alleviation.

Therefore our "popular" daily papers do not attempt to give a balanced view, which would involve giving as much prominence to this incident as would be given to the latest atrocity. (It is the Isle of Wight County Press, as a matter of fact, from the Dec. 12 issue of which we quote Mrs. Littlecott's account of her experiences).

### Spirit of Humanity

At this season, in peace-time, the press used to carry reports of ships foundering in winter gales—and such accounts often told how men of

various nationalities risked death in rescue work.

The fact that the same spirit of humanity has ignored national differences, even in war-time, should hearten us, and we may guess that there are many instances of which we never learn.

The mere possibility that such things can happen means more for the ultimate peace of the world than all the military victories, policies of retribution, and politicians' promises. These things are barren but the impulse that prompts a man to succour the helpless will work wonders, if it gets the chance.

So remember this incident next time you read an atrocity-story—and be thankful, even if the mercies do seem small by comparison.

PACIFIST COMMENTARY: EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

## Prophecies for 1943

ACCORDING to the Daily Express (Jan. 1) the first New Year broadcast of the Berlin radio said: "This war will last for a good 20 years." The general line of spokesmen of the United Nations is that it will end, with victory for themselves, in 1943. Even Japan, which one would have thought would have taken some dislodging, is to be smashed in the course of the year, says Admiral Halsey, US Commander in the S. Pacific.

I foresee victory for the United Nations and an Axis defeat in the coming year—I mean including the complete defeat of Japan in the coming year, 1943 (News Chronicle, Jan. 4).

The discrepancy between these prognostications is considerable. Also, the reversal of propaganda emphasis is noteworthy. A year ago, Berlin was prophesying a short war; London a long one—though not 20 years. What is the explanation? That Germany is adopting the attitude of "the impregnable defensive," while the United Nations have changed to "the sanguine offensive?" In that case, I conclude that the prognostications have no relation to probable truth. Their purpose is psychological: to encourage the attitude most useful to the defensive and offensive respectively.

### Chances of Victory

ON the whole there seems to be little justification for the United Nations to expect victory in 1943. The German claims for their U-boat campaign are, no doubt, exaggerated—"Naval forces and Luftwaffe sank 8,940,000 tons in 1942"; Berlin communiqué, Jan. 1—but the losses have been and are serious. In Lord Hankey's opinion they are heavy enough to make it impossible for the United Nations to transport the armies they have accumulated. Moreover, Capt. Liddell Hart writes:

It would be wise to face the fact frankly and in time that the evidence of the North African campaign hitherto does not in itself justify high expectations of our capacity to carry out an effective invasion of Europe (D. Mail, Jan. 4).

He says that, militarily, the achievement of the United Nations in N. Africa has been "far less impressive than the way that the enemy has established a blocking position in Tunis under greater difficulties." The leading article in the same paper goes further and says that the failure may mean "the postponement of whatever plans there may be for the attack on Europe."

### Russia's War

VERY naturally, the success of the Russian offensive engenders optimism. I would I had the knowledge to appraise it. I can do no more than

## FROM DOWN UNDER

INSTEAD of my usual homily for the Fighting Fund, here is a letter which was sent to the Editor and staff by the New Zealand Peace Pledge Union on Oct. 8.

Dear Friends,—At the Annual Conference, 1942, of the above Union, we unanimously decided to convey to you all our good wishes and hearty appreciation of your publication. Despite difficulties, you have carried on Peace News so that it is an inspiration, and of great value to the peace movement everywhere, especially to those who themselves are anxious to assist their members through some form of printed news-letter. We trust that in the future you will be given all the strength, courage, and material resources needed for continued publication.—Yours most sincerely, D. G. MAWSON, National Secretary.

Contributions since Dec. 28: £23 6s. 11d. Total to date: £4,061.

### THE EDITOR

Please make cheques etc. payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

register a trend of opinion which, though cautiously expressed, is noticeable. It is that the Russians have made a superhuman effort in the belief that the N. African campaign was going to develop quickly and favourably and thus bring real pressure to bear on Germany; but that, if this pressure cannot be applied, the Russians have shot their bolt. This is what seems to be implied in Capt. Liddell Hart's opinion.

The extent to which the enemy's forces are now stretched out and used up provides us with a great opportunity. But it may not be a lasting one. Unless we are capable of seeing it, the war may subside into a state of stagnant yet wasting futility, in which every real war aim is lost and the only end becomes common ruin.

Certainly, no solid ground has yet appeared for supposing that the food and industrial situation of Russia has recovered from the loss of the Ukraine. On the other hand, A. T. Cholerton (D. Telegraph, Jan. 4) says:

Russia wants to finish her war this year. Her armies intend to exploit their supreme winter mobility to the limit, so that Hitler will not be able to attempt any further spring offensive here.

On re-reading that passage I find it somewhat equivocal. Why "her war" and not "the war"? I suppose owing to mere carelessness of expression.

### The Submarine War

ANYONE who reads between the lines has been aware that the German submarine campaign is a very serious matter. Lord Hankey has an article in the Sunday Times (Jan. 3) which is more outspoken than usual. Under the title, "The Outlook for 1943," he begins:

Apart from U-boat warfare, the gravity of which is not yet realized by the general public, the United Nations enter the New Year in comparatively favourable circumstances.

That is, in itself, a good deal more sober than the general attitude of confidence. But Lord Hankey goes further. He says pretty bluntly that in this vital matter the war has been mismanaged.

In order to provide for major operations in 1943 the crushing of the U-boat should have been the main task for 1942, taking precedence over all else. Shipbuilding has been satisfactory, but protection of shipping has not. Production of U-boats still exceeds their destruction. Despite a record shipping output, our losses during the war are more than double their replacement, and in 1943 our striking power will, on any calculation, exceed our capacity to transport it.

In discreet language Lord Hankey puts the blame on Mr. Churchill for a vital delay in developing anti-submarine aircraft. The direct use of long-range aircraft against the U-boat is, he says, as important in this war as the convoy system was in the last. It has been neglected.

(Continued on page 2)



## PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing & Advertisement  
Office: (Please specify department)

8 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.  
Telephone: Stamford Hill 2262-3

### Subscription Rates:

Home: Quarterly, 3/3; Yearly, 12/6  
Abroad: Quarterly, 2/9; Yearly, 10/6

## The Goal

THE danger which threatens pacifism is facility. It is—thanks to the toleration won by the struggle of conscientious objectors twenty-five years ago—comparatively easy to be a pacifist today. Yet a good many young pacifists appear to be unconscious of their position of privilege. Lately we were shocked to hear a young pacifist who had suffered nothing worse than a not very arduous spell of work on the land, and that in company of his own choosing, speak of himself as “having borne his witness”; and speak of that “witness” as sufficient in itself to absolve him from any further obligation to his comrades or his country.

Another kind of facility to which pacifists are distressingly liable is facile thinking. They have a tendency to adopt the political slogans of the Left without any critical examination. Having been persuaded that economic causes count for much in creating a situation from which war is the only issue, they pass rapidly to two assumptions: (1) that if the economic causes of the war are removed, world peace will follow, and (2) that it is relatively easy to remove those economic causes. If they were to think a little more, they would discover that the economic causes of war are pretty deep-rooted in the normal behaviour of average humanity. If they did more than think, and subjected themselves to the experiment of community-living; they would discover that normal behaviour is very difficult to eradicate, or even to improve, in themselves.

Or again they make Democracy their shibboleth. It is regarded as self-evident that representative democracy is the best form of government, and it is taken for granted that the pacifist movement must be democratic, in spite of the obvious fact that the PPU, at any rate, was not founded as a democratic organization. Neither was the Christian Church. Here again, a little actual experiment in community-living on a democratic basis might convince them that its own internal weakness was the cause of the failure of democracy in Europe. It might indicate to them that some new form of organization has, painfully and patiently, to be worked out, wherein leadership is compatible with community, and freedom with responsibility.

Let pacifists resolve to think reality at all costs—even at the price of mental suffering and downright disillusion. Pacifism is not, or ought not to be, a vague and rosy idealism which somehow includes in one comprehensive glow all the advanced and progressive notions current in the world today. It cannot, without inward futility, pretend to reconcile the best in a variety of radically incompatible political systems. Pacifism, if it is a real faith, must involve real sacrifice. It does not consist in preferring one good to evil: in preferring peace to war. It consists in preferring one good above all others: the good of peace to the manifold goods which have war as their consequence. It is not villainy that produces war, but the pursuit of universally acknowledged goods.

It is surely impossible to look on the world today and not realise that the price of peace must be formidable. It is not enough that men should be a little more reasonable or even much more reasonable. They have to be changed. Possibly, world-peace will be established without that change. Readers of Arnold Toynbee's Study of History, or of Gerald Heard's "Man the Master," will have learned, from the first, that a "universal State" is a stage not in the growth, but in the decay of a civilization; and, from the second, what sinister forms a modern world-State may assume. A world

## Political Deadlocks

EVEN after the elimination of Darlan, the course of true love between Giraud and de Gaulle does not run smooth. I dwell on the difficulties not in any spirit of Schadenfreude, but because they seem to me typical and prophetic of the political deadlocks inherent in this war.

Thus we have M. Andre Philip, ex-Socialist Deputy for Lyons, who recently joined de Gaulle, insisting in The Observer (Jan. 3): (1) that there must be a single political authority uniting the anti-Axis French; (2) that it must be based on "Republican legitimacy", i.e. that it must derive its authority not in any way from Vichy, but from the last Government of the Republic; and (3) that its political head must be de Gaulle (presumably because he was a minor member of the last Republican Cabinet).

These conditions are, moreover, the official conditions of the French National Committee in London (D. Herald, Jan. 4). On the other hand, the N. Chronicle (Jan. 4) says: "There is a general understanding here (i.e. in Washington) why de Gaulle could not accept proposals implying complete subordination of the Fighting French movement, but there is a hope that he will find a way of joining in the political moratorium."

The de Gaulleists seem to be digging in their toes. The insistence on Republican legitimacy is curious, seeing that M. Denis Saurat has lately pointed out that de Gaulle is no democrat. It reminds me of Oliver Cromwell's insistence on parliamentary legitimacy: of which the reality was the Rump Parliament.

### U.S.A.'s New Darlan?

MR. Vernon Bartlett (N. Chronicle, Jan. 4) assures us that Giraud and de Gaulle "hold one another in high esteem" and that "they would gladly co-operate". But they have three obstacles to overcome: (1) bitter hostility in N. Africa to the revival or development of democracy in France; (2) the question who should take military and political precedence; (3) that in some quarters de Gaulle is looked upon as the British candidate for power, and Giraud as the candidate of the US.

In regard to (3) it is notable that the American State Department is still at considerable pains to rehabilitate Darlan, from whom Giraud's authority derives. War Secretary Stimson has said: "Since Darlan's death I have received a report of his work which indicates the wisdom and loyalty of his activities. The report made a great impression on me and there is no reason to doubt his sincerity."

Again, in a broadcast from USA, to which I shall refer again, Mr. Lindley reveals that Darlan was sounded by Ambassador Leahy and made it clear that if the Americans came to N. Africa in considerable force he would join them.

### France and America

IT is curious how quickly it is forgotten that the USA maintained intimate con-

tact with Vichy France, and in particular with the French in N. Africa, long after Britain. A welcome reminder of this was given in a recent broadcast by the American, Mr. E. L. Lindley:

"The American Government felt that it was well informed on men and developments in what used to be occupied France and especially in French N. Africa. Those who are acquainted with the evidence accumulated day by day vouch for the statement that it throws a more favourable light on several Frenchmen who appeared to support a degree of collaboration with Hitler" (Listener, Dec. 21).

Worth noting too is Gen. Giraud's statement: "I told Marshal Petain when I arrived in Vichy on April 29 that France had only one way out of the mess she was in—that was to join America. I say the same thing now" (Telegraph, Jan. 2).

Not Britain; only America. It needs underlining. A great many influential Frenchmen have no love for Britain. And Britain and USA are very distinct entities in their minds.

### French Republicanism

FROM that it emerges that the de Gaulle demand for "Republican legitimacy" is in reality a demand that the USA should repudiate its own past policy, which was originally based on recognizing the legitimacy of the Vichy Government. Obviously, the USA intends to do nothing of the kind. And the British Government would get itself into a fantastic position if it became the backer of the restoration of the Third Republic. Those who followed French opinion fairly closely in the between-war period are aware that nearly all the intellectuals—and in France intellectuals are influential—had deserted the parliamentary Republic. Where one, like Alain, was to be found who was a convinced Republican, he was also a pacifist.

I should not be at all surprised if the chief supporters of the Republic, namely the radical peasants, turned out to be supporters of Laval rather than of Giraud, still less of de Gaulle. In so complex a situation, to take the line of which the New Statesman is an extreme exponent: see "The Two Nations in France", Jan. 2) that the issue in France is between something called Democracy and something called Fascism, and that even Giraud is suspect "because he is working from a Fascist base and with a Fascist army", is to betray an almost incredible political naivety.

### Abstract Thinking

OUR Leftists—pacifist and non-pacifist alike—would do well to take to heart the following passage from the famous Swiss newspaper, the Journal de Geneve, which if anything is too Anglophil to be fully representative of Swiss opinion.

"British and American statesmen have not always been fortunate in their interventions in Central Europe, whose innumerable problems they have not had time to examine deeply.

## A PACIFIST COMMENTARY (Continued from page one)

If they wish to construct solid States, no doubt they will remember that a constitution which may seem ideal to London University students, or the adherents of some religious sect in the wilds of Dakota, will not necessarily create happiness for the peasants of Poland or the woodcutters of the Boemmerwald" (Quoted by News-Review, Dec. 31).

What applies to abstract and idealistic thinking concerning Central Europe applies even more forcibly to thinking about France. If Britain gets committed to the latest de Gaulle intransigence, it will create more chaos than order in France. There are, fortunately, a good many signs that the attitude of USA is more sober than our own.

### 'Choice of Government'

THE Foreign Policy Association of America—an influential and enlightened body—has begun to worry over the problem of the emigre Governments. News Review (Dec. 31) states the problem thus:

"Most occupied countries have governments in London which are recognized by the other United Nations as the legal authorities of the States they represent. These governments will want to return to their capitals as soon as possible after the fighting ends. Some will undoubtedly be greeted with acclaim, but in other liberated States the people, after years of war and strife, may be unwilling to welcome back to power leaders whose lustre has long been dimmed. They may, in fact, resist the return of such governments. The longer the war the greater the possibility of the resistance and civil disorder which may ensue."

If the United Nations do not support the emigre Governments, there may be civil war between them and the underground anti-Axis movements who have borne the heat and burden of the day; if the United Nations do prop up the emigre Governments, they may be in the invidious position of imposing a hated government on an unwilling people; as Britain (under Mr. Churchill's inspiration) did in Russia at the end of the last war. Yet the Atlantic Charter promises the liberated peoples free choice of Government.

### World a Poor House

ANOTHER famous Swiss newspaper, the Basler Nachrichten, of equal repute with the Journal de Geneve, has a passage which is worth meditating and which applies to many besides statesmen:

"Wishful thinking is the main occupation by which the statesmen of both sides try to forget their longing for decisive military successes. Behind the present hell, they imagine a future paradise, and completely ignore that the chances of this paradise becoming a poor-house for victors and vanquished alike are growing daily. Even the Beveridge plan, with which all English people are more or less sincerely pleased, will become a mere house of refuge for paupers if the war lasts two more years" (Quoted by News-Review, Dec. 31).

# AN ECONOMIC SOLUTION

in which  
**OWLGLASS**  
descends to brass tacks

Current controversies compel me, against my inclinations, to descend into economics.

OUR rulers are greatly concerned about post-war poverty and unemployment. Their difficulty is that they can think of no alternative to the present economic system, which itself makes poverty and war inevitable.

I should like to offer some assistance.

First, a brief glance at the present system. Its outstanding feature is that Productive Capacity always exceeds Public Purchasing Power (Algebraically, PC is greater than P<sup>3</sup>).

Result: when we have bought all we can afford, production declines, we have unemployment, and a surplus of unsaleable goods.

VISITORS from other planets see no difficulty in this situation. They say, "Why not give the people more money?"

There is, of course, no material impediment to this. Money costs nothing, and this war has proved that governments can always issue enough to pay for whatever the country can produce.

But strangers do not understand that the first principle of our social code is that people may not have money unless they work. Never mind

without overt war is only too possible at the price of scientific internal war.

Pacifism therefore must look beyond the suppression of overt war. Its true goal is the creation of a society of inward and outward peace. That is much easier to talk of than to achieve, even on the tiniest scale.

for the moment how that idea arose. Suffice it to say that it just grew, like a wart.

So our authorities announce with one voice: "Unemployment is the problem. We must find more work."

But it is difficult to find more work, for we have already done too much. We cannot make more goods until we buy those we've already made; we cannot buy them until we have more money; we cannot have more money until we've made more goods. And the music goes 'round and around.

BY orthodox economic theory, the way to break that circle is to sell that surplus to foreigners.

But the foreigners, with characteristic immorality, have pinched our rules. They say they too must sell their surplus abroad. So we have all the nations trying to force their surplus on each other. The result is war.

Note, in passing, the fundamental difference between ancient and modern war. Formerly, nations fought for each other's wealth. Today, they fight to force their wealth on each other. Formerly, they fought to get slaves to do their work for them; today, they fight to do each other's work.

As you've observed, war solves the economic problem. For modern war is an unlimited expansion of exports.

In war, governments drop the pretence that money is a limited commodity, and devote the entire national resources to an ever-increasing production of goods that cannot be consumed at home. The economist's dream comes true.

CANNOT we extend this happy solution into peace-time? I think we can.

We have seen that although morality restrains us from issuing enough money to distribute wealth within the country, we can always issue enough for sending wealth out of the country.

Very well: Let us export peace-time goods at the same rate as we now export munitions, and drop them

on foreign countries by parachute.

The foreigners will retaliate, and drop things on us. So much the better. They will do our work, we shall do theirs. The people of all countries will be provided with abundance without their governments having to break their rule of never supplying their own people's needs. There will be no economic need for war, and everybody will be happy. And, what is even more important in a world of pious work-worshippers, everybody will be busy.

ONE problem remains: Mechanical Progress.

While governments are always trying to find work, science is always trying to save it.

Neither process can give way to the other. For, in the modern world, while Work is a duty, Progress is a god.

This conflict between morality and religion may produce a dilemma: As progress advances, productivity per head increases. We shall soon reach a stage where the earth's surface is so thickly plastered with manufactured goods that we are forced once again to withdraw men from industry.

How shall we employ them? Set them digging holes and filling them up again? No use: somebody would immediately invent a hole-digging-and-filling-machine. And we should have to use it, because our religion forbids any interference with Progress.

I think I have the solution.

Let Progress continue. And as each new invention displaces more man-power, let the displaced workers spend their working hours dancing round the machinery to radio accompaniment.

Nobody will object to this. Economic laws are founded on superstition. People who will starve in the midst of abundance because they aren't enough little pieces of printed paper could easily be persuaded that machines wouldn't work unless people danced round them.

## WORDS OF PEACE — 2

## A Common Spirit

I FEEL not in myself those common antipathies that I can discover in others. Those national repugnances do not touch me nor do I behold with prejudice the French, Italian, Spaniard, or Dutch; but where I find their actions in balance with my countrymen, I honour, love, and embrace them in the same degree.

I am no plant that will not prosper out of a garden; all places and airs make unto me one country. I am in England everywhere and under any meridian. I have been ship-wrecked yet am not enemy with the sea or wind.

I am sure there is a common spirit that plays within us, yet makes no part in us, and that is the spirit of God; this is that gentle irradiation that dispels the mists of hell, the clouds of horror, fear, sorrow, despair, and preserves the region of the mind in serenity.

Sir Thomas Browne,  
"Religio Medici."

## Letters to the Editor

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

## Community Educational Trust

TO pacifist parents and teachers the war brings a special challenge in the educational field. The need for the coming generation to be fearless and resourceful in facing the trials and living up to the opportunities of a rapidly changing world appears greater than ever, while the availability of the kind of education required seems likely to diminish.

Community education, with its emphasis on a relationship of freedom and affection between teacher and child, makes necessary a comparatively large staff. Also, to give the children a chance to do creative, independent work, much must be spent on materials and books of reference that are "achievement-provoking". In other words, community education is very costly—yet those who believe in it want it to be available for all children, regardless of the means of their parents.

Most community schools owe their present existence to the fact that staffs, academic and domestic alike, accept an equal and low standard of living. This has also enabled many children to be taken at reduced fees. Mortgages, rents, and capital equipment, however, make such demands on the very small resources available that expansion is limited and the staffs too overworked to give the children the attention and affection they believe right and necessary.

I am greatly indebted to you for this opportunity to put in a word to fellow pacifists about the rising generation, following on your very moving leader entitled "God and the Child" (Dec. 18). And now I want to make an appeal.

Sherwood School Community, Epsom, is taking the initiative, supported by Kidstones School, Leyburn, in asking all who are concerned about the whole question to start subscribing to a Community Education Trust. Among other services, such a trust would set itself to relieve genuine Community Schools of the burden of rent and mortgage interest, and thereafter to make contributions to improvement of equipment. It is hoped that those concerned will regard their contributions as social service, and will expect neither interest nor repayment. To those who need or desire it, however, interest would be paid at nominal rates on the basis of a loan.

The success of this scheme depends upon immediate support. Please communicate with the secretary.

MAX WALKER

Eversheds, Abinger Hammer,  
nr. Dorking, Surrey.

## The Time Factor

It is not *what* you do that counts nowadays. Nor is it simply a matter of *how* you do it that gets you by. The real issue is *when* you do it.

"With your guts you could be of real service to your country. If you

## Cautious Thinking

Straight Thinking in War Time.  
R. H. Thouless. English Universities Press. 7s. 6d.

If the rulers of the democratic powers are to make after the war a peace which contains no seed of a future war, they must have behind them a people who, although they have felt the passions of war, have not allowed their judgment to be deflected by them.

THE expression of this sentence from Dr. Thouless's book is slightly odd, and tempts one to a little of that clarifying analysis at which Dr. Thouless is a known adept. Passions, I should have said, are essentially things that do deflect judgment, and any that are not are irrelevancies that we need not be concerned to combat. Has Dr. Thouless perhaps been led astray by those simulacra of passion that sometimes arise in the most scholarly breast, and that can be noted with judicious curiosity before being primly suppressed?

It may be objected that passions, even if they deflect judgment, need not permanently corrupt it, and that this is what Dr. Thouless means. But if emotions, as Dr. Thouless emphasizes, drive us to action, actions alter the personal basis of judgment. For it is only the most remarkable persons who can keep their judgments free of any element of self-justification for their past.

## TRAINING THE MIND

The difficulties of the task which Dr. Thouless has set himself are immense. Perhaps no-one could have made a better attempt, but one is left wondering whether the book that was intended could possibly have been written. It is an excellent thing that everyone should be led to train his mind to habits of clear and distinct judgment, but it is difficult indeed to use events of deep and immediate emotional importance as the material of that training.

The real successor of a general book such as Dr. Thouless's "Straight and Crooked Thinking" is a book of a quite different kind. If the straight thinker has the intrepidity to test his methods on current affairs, we cannot be satisfied with mere discussion, but are bound, I feel, to demand that the "straightness" of his thought should be demonstrated in a passage to some real conclusion. Yet, if he attempts this, it is easy to see the danger: the conclusion may offend just those prejudiced persons whom it is most desired to influence.

The alternative course, which on the whole Dr. Thouless has chosen, means cautious rather than direct thinking. It tends to suggest that every dispute is—as it well may be—"six of one and half-a-dozen of the other", thought with occasional lapses to a 7-5 ratio. It deflates enthusiasm, but it leads straight to nothing, neither to peace nor war. It reminds one at times of the Chesterton character who perpetually chanted: "On the one hand, on the other hand. On the one hand, on the other hand."

## LIMITATIONS

I do not want, if I can avoid it, to appear contemptuous. Anyone who is concerned for careful thought can learn so much from Dr. Thouless. But it is essential that we should recognize the limitations of this sort of discipline, and the quotation I have given seems to me to claim too much.

For the ordinary person (as, in a wider sense, for the scientist), thought is justified by action as much as action by thought. If to win the war is good, and emotional thinking serves that end, the ordinary person is as likely as not to find it justified by the event. Thought is integral with directed action, but it has not yet, in these first few centuries of man's existence, proved itself as a self-

were older and had the training, you would make a fine Commando," declared the chairman of an East End juvenile court to a lad up for acting as leader to a gang of shop and housebreakers.

But three years make all the difference. No decorations this time round: merely remanded in custody for seven days for a psychologist's report.

HOWARD FOX

24 Pyecombe Corner, N.12.

(Continued on page 4)

sufficient standard of reference.

The question insistently remains: Is the war in a sufficient sense right that the thinking which serves us now can be expected to carry us through it and out at the other end? Or is it the case that its divergence from right human action is such that a revolution of thought is needed to bring us on to the straight path? It is the self-justifying tendencies of the human person that always make the problem.

Millions of men and women have in fact accepted the judgement of authority in matters which affect the whole course of their lives. Yet, so intolerable is it to regard oneself purely as an instrument, the majority will be led substantially to accept "national" decisions as their own. It is the hardest thing in the world to devalue years of hardship and sacrifice by questioning their purpose, and the outcome, if one is forced to it, is as often bitterness and disillusionment as repentance.

There are times when I feel, even as a pacifist, that so hard is the way of repentance that there is better hope of a generous peace if the victors are encouraged to win their war with a feeling of untroubled good conscience. That, I am afraid, is already not possible. Dotting the i's and crossing the t's may perhaps induce some degree of repentance. The difficulty is to repent and still be of good heart.

ALAN STANILAND

## REVIEWS

WE have recently had reviewed for us Max Plowman's "The Right to Live," and many of us have read or re-read this "cream of his shorter writings" with ever deepening reverence and respect for the man. Max Plowman breathed love into the Peace Pledge Union at a time when it very badly needed it. Today, more than ever, we hold him in treasured memory.

Another great book has recently been published—"Man the Master," by Gerald Heard (Faber & Faber, 10/6).

Some of us remember, with gratitude, the lessons Gerald Heard strove to teach us in that first year of our movement's existence. Some thought that they knew a shorter way to peace than the one which he so faithfully and unselfishly advocated. Others thought his way of life too austere and intellectual for the ordinary rank and file.

Looking back over the past six years, I think it might be a good plan if we read this book as a preparation for the coming Annual Meeting. It may help to throw some new light, not only on the world problems with which the PPU strives to grapple, but on the more domestic problems within the PPU itself.

## FOUR CLASSES

Gerald Heard divides us into classes, and few, if any, of us will claim to be in the top class—those whom he calls seers, "the eyes of mankind." But we must (or we are in the wrong cause) belong to one of the lower classes, the lowest being "the routineer" who finds his joy in personal relationships, his meaning of life being reverence for love. This type, he says, needs to be "instructed, by an authority whom he can trust and respect," that he may understand that "his experience is as a matter of fact partial."

The next type is what Gerald Heard calls "the craftsman" who, while taking this first virtue for granted, yet has, over and beyond this, a reverence for truth, and a desire that his work should be creative and "be part of the general pattern of evolving life."

The third class—"the administrator-statesman" has for his motto, in addition to the others, reverence for life. "He is the man at the wheel." And above him, of course, is the seer.

## NOT ALL CAN ADVANCE

Mr. Heard does not—as so many mistakenly think—demand that every pacifist should eventually reach the top class. For many that would not be possible. He says that though some will advance many will remain in the lower classes throughout life, finding in them a complete way of life.

But he does say that it is our task to see that we live up fully to the immediate vision of our class, each being "loyal to his level to the full intuitions of his nature". Could any seer dare ask less of us?

"Man the Master" is a book for pacifist students who are not afraid to think hard.

Finally, to turn to quite a new departure in writing for him, there is "A Dialogue in the Desert" (Cassell: 1s. 6d.). The speaker in the dialogue is "the Christ of the Three Temptations". The second voice is the "dark echo."

If we read either or both of these books and see in them only cold austerity, or what some call "detached perfectionism," instead of the result of the strivings and struggles of a very human man, who is as near and ready to help us as we are sufficiently "adult" to be helped, then we are, indeed, spiritually blind.

WINIFRED CUMMINGS

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER. The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

PPU HEADQUARTERS,  
Dick Sheppard House,  
6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

## Preparations for A.G.M.

THE work of preparation for the Annual General Meeting will start early this year. To meet the requests of Areas and Groups, the preliminary Agenda, with the Reports for 1943, is to be issued in the middle of February, instead of late in April as last year.

Besides helping Areas to consider resolutions and groups to advise their delegates, this early start will be of great assistance to Headquarters. Last year, for the first time, we used the opportunity to check up the continued existence of groups and the accuracy of our records of officers and members. This year we want to carry out that job even more thoroughly.

Here, then, is the programme which has been agreed:

Group Census and delegate forms on Jan. 21.  
Provisional Agenda and Reports to Groups and Areas on Feb. 18.  
Nominations to Council by Mar. 22.  
Resolutions from Areas by Mar. 22.  
Tickets to be applied for by Mar. 26.  
Final Agendas and Voting Papers issued (together with provisional agendas and tickets for individuals) Apr. 1.  
Voting Papers returned by Apr. 22.

The provisional Agenda will be sent first to Area Committees and to groups applying for delegate tickets. So that the earlier each group can decide upon its delegate the better.

The final Agenda will contain the Area resolutions, as collated by AGM Arrangements Committee, and final corrections to the Accounts (which will probably be first printed in un-audited form).

## COUNCIL ELECTIONS

There has already been an article in this column about the voting arrangements for 1943, but as a few points do not seem to have been made clear a further comment will probably be helpful.

Every signatory to the Pledge is entitled to vote, though it is obviously impossible for the Union to send this information direct to every signatory. Groups and Contact members are to be asked to act as local polling stations, and to arrange, as they see fit, for the filling-in of voting papers. It is suggested that a weekend might be fixed during which a group official would be present at his house or some other suitable meeting place, or, alternatively, that members might be able to call to vote between certain hours several evenings in the week. The papers must be forwarded to Headquarters by the local Returning Officer.

Wherever there are groups or contact members, signatories will be expected to get in touch and find out the arrangements for voting. Where there is no group or contact member within reasonable distance Area Committees will be able to send papers by post; but this is only in cases where there is exceptional difficulty. No voting papers can be obtained by individuals from Headquarters.

These rules may sound somewhat harsh, but we hope that our members realize their necessity, if the work entailed by this wider basis of voting is to be kept within bounds.

ALAN STANILAND

The Rev. Donald Stuart (a member of the Executive Committee of the Methodist Peace Fellowship) and his wife, who were living in Jersey at the time of the occupation of the Channel Islands, volunteered to accompany a party of deportees to Germany and is now at Lager Bezeichnung, Stalag VI. P. Germany. He recently wrote that he and his wife are "well and cheery" and that he is conducting camp services twice each Sunday. His friends may write to him as to prisoners of war.

## essential information:

## What Gandhi Really Said

A series of extracts from the last issue of HARIJAN before his arrest including his letter "To the Japanese."

AN IMPORTANT PAMPHLET AT A VERY LOW PRICE

10 (post free, 2d.) from The P.P.U.  
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.



## Christmas in Prison

THE Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, by special permission, sent a coloured calendar to all COs known to have been in prison over Christmas. If any imprisoned COs have not received this, the Central Board should be informed so that they may send a calendar.

Parties of COs and others sang carols outside the main prisons in which COs are serving sentences. About 40 people sang carols on two consecutive nights outside Strangeways Prison, Manchester, and about 75 people sang outside Wormwood Scrubs Prison. COs seem to have heard the carols well.

### NATIONAL SERVICE ACT

In spite of the Government assurance that the right to register as conscientious objectors would be open to youths at any time up to the age of 18, the Act which has now been passed does not provide for this, and the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors has asked the Ministry of Labour to do so by administrative action.

The Friends' Ambulance Unit, which has 700 members working in many countries, has been officially informed that two of its chief officials Thomas L. Tanner, chairman of the executive, and Peter Hume, personnel secretary, are missing and are presumed lost at sea.

They left England to visit sections of the ambulance unit in Ethiopia, India, the Middle East, and China.

Denis Hayes, Editor of the CBCO Bulletin, has completed his month's imprisonment and was released on New Year's Day. He was back at work within a few hours. The January issue of the Bulletin is expected to be published shortly and will continue to appear early each month.

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised). Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They may not be returned unless a stamped addressed envelope is enclosed, nor can we undertake to acknowledge all correspondence owing to increased cost of postage.

### Hand Over All Power To Congress

## INDIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

### Mass Demonstration

Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, W.C.2.  
Tuesday, January 26, 7 p.m.

Speakers:  
W. G. Cove M.P., Vera Brittain, S. S. Silverman M.P., Fenner Brockway, Fred Messer M.P., Frank Horrabin and Indian Speakers.  
Committee of Indian Congressmen,  
70 New Oxford St., W.C.1.

### SYBIL

### THORNDIKE...

will give Two Poetry Readings  
at St. Andrew Undershaft,

St. Mary Axe,

(five minutes from the Bank of England)  
on Monday Jan. 11 and  
Monday, Jan. 18, at 1 p.m.

(Collection for the Hungerford Club)

## What do we mean by Freedom?

Public Lunch Hour  
Addresses at

Friends' House, Euston Rd.,  
N.W.1  
(opposite Euston Station)

Tuesdays 1.20—2.0 p.m.

Jan. 12 FREEDOM TO WORSHIP  
Franz Hildebrandt

Jan. 19 FREEDOM FOR CONSCIENCE  
Stephen J. Thorne

Jan. 26 FREEDOM OR EMPIRE  
Charles Collett

Feb. 2 CAN WE BE FREE?  
Francis E. Pollard

## LETTERS

### Peace Without Victory

WHAT makes Eric G. Attwood say (PN, Jan. 1, Letters) that I think the pacifist cannot co-operate with either of the groups of people whom he describes as "able to envisage a peace without military victory", while rejecting complete pacifism? Apparently what makes him say it is his assumption that the Cove manifesto belongs to that category.

Since my article on the subject arose from a still unresolved doubt on that point, I should be interested to know on what evidence he makes the assumption. I didn't say a pacifist could not co-operate with a Cove movement, if one should appear. I suggested that it could not even appear, at any rate as an effective movement, unless the signatories of the manifesto made up their minds to come out openly for "a peace without military victory".

HUMPHREY S. MOORE

7 Barnard Green, Welwyn Garden City.

### Horror — and Help

Whatever may be our views on the "atrocity stories" now being propagated regarding the extermination of the Jews in Europe, I feel sure pacifists will want to associate themselves with the demand that the Allied Governments should receive Jewish children, and possibly adults, from occupied Europe, under supervision of a neutral Power.

It is certain that the stories now being told of "blood baths" are unlikely to stand up to the test of later, more careful, investigation, but I do know, from first hand evidence, that much of the general outline of the picture of general suffering and misery is accurate. I know several refugees whose parents they left in Germany. In every case they have received letters in the last few months stating that their parents have been deported to Poland. Merely to express scepticism of the worst

## Continued from page 3

atrocities is not enough.

An able champion of the demand that an attempt should be made to save as many as possible, is Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P. I feel sure she would welcome letters of support for this demand (at 5 Tufton Ct., S.W.1) and I hope also readers of Peace News will bring this matter to the attention of M.Ps, newspapers, organizations, etc. At the moment the Government has done nothing but express pious horror at the events. As with other things, they must be urged to implement their words with deeds.

GEOFFREY PITTOCK-BUSS  
47 Argyle Sq., W.C.1.

### "The Dustman and the Postman"

A 7s. 6d. book is not within purchasing reach of all of us, and having been asked several times how "The Right to Live" may be made available through a public library, may I make a New Year suggestion to readers of Peace News?

The way to get books into libraries is to ask—and get as many others as possible to ask—for them, and put their names in the library suggestion book. In one town a request by 4 ratepayers used to secure a book; though in these days this may not be so any longer. Yet, with the curtailment of education promised us this year, the public libraries should become what the monasteries were in those other Dark Ages—the true centres of enlightenment and homes of learning. "The true university in these days is a collection of books", said Carlyle, nearly a hundred years ago. It still is; here is one which every pacifist can have a hand in creating.

"It's the dustman and the postman we've got to convert", Max Plozman used to say again and again, symbolizing in these most often seen suburban workers the invisible hosts on which all our lives depend. But, unless the work of our pacifist writers and thinkers is easily accessible to these men and their families, that work makes only a fraction of its appeal, and the cause of peace itself is immeasurably delayed.

So, groups and individuals, put it in the forefront of your 1943 programme: to build pacifism in the public library.

DOROTHY PLOWMAN

Greenlawn, Royston, Herts.

## FAMINE

AUTHENTIC details of the working of present relief in Greece were given in a Stockholm speech on Dec. 17 by Prince Carl, chairman of the Swedish Red Cross.

Swedish ships, he said (Times, Dec. 18), had so far carried 76,000 tons of Canadian wheat and 3,000 tons of other commodities, including dried vegetables, milk powder, and medicines, to Greece with a safe-conduct from the belligerents. The Times added:

"The Joint Swedish-Swiss Commission in Athens, with a Swedish chairman, now has a staff of 550, of whom 140 check and inspect the shops and soup-kitchens in Athens which distribute the food. Six hundred thousand Athenians have been fed at various times in the soup-kitchens. The commission controls bakeries in Athens and the Piraeus and three of the most important flour mills, and keeps a close watch on the costs and profits of mills and bakeries.

"There are 1,600 local committees, which keep the commission posted on conditions in country districts. The plan of distribution is based on their reports and on the results of the many tours of inspection carried out by members of the commission. Assistance was given to about 1,000,000 country dwellers in October. Because of the difficulty of land transport Swedish ships in future will call not only at the Piraeus but at other ports on the mainland, in order to facilitate distribution. It has been decided to store food in Smyrna as a base for distribution in the Aegean Islands."

Please note our only address  
**C. A. BROCK & Co. Ltd.**  
79 SOUTHERN ROW, LONDON, W.10.  
For all Printing & Stationery

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

CHARGES: 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra).

CASH must accompany copy, except for series bookings.

LATEST TIME for copy to be received: MONDAY. Please type copy separately from your letter, but add name and address.

### DISPLAYED ADVTs.

MAXIMUM space allowed: 3 column-inches. LATEST TIME for copy: FRIDAY.

EXPERIENCED young couple feeling permanent vocation agriculture, possibly interested subsistence farming, wanted to share small farm 25 acres West Sussex. Cows, poultry, pigs, arable, large garden. Roomy Cottage. Write fully. Box 675 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### LITERATURE, &c.

"ALL MEN ARE OUR SONS." The letters of a "British airman to a German mother" quoted from Dr. Iremonger by Peace News are published in full by the Friends' Peace Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., N.W.1, price 1d.

BOOKS loaned to C.O.s on land etc; without obligation. Write for list Marshall, 21 Wheatlands Drive, Bradford, Yorks.

QUAKERISM: Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

"THE QUAKER MESSAGE" by Sidney Lucas: extracts from Quaker writers on belief and practice. 86 pp. price 1s. 6d. from Heys Farm Guest House, W. Bradford, Clitheroe, Lancs.

### MEETINGS, &c.

EDMONTON Music Lovers Recital, Jan. 9, 6.30 p.m. Independent Church, Knights Lane, N.9. Artists: L. R. A. Armstrong (pianist), Raymond Davey (baritone), Geda Scotney.

P.P.U., S.E. Area A.G.M. Sun., Jan. 17. Harrington's Cafe, Five Ways, Tunbridge Wells, 11.30—4.30. (Bring sandwich lunch only). Speaker: Sybil Morrison.

S.E. LONDON Reunion, Social, and Dance, Jan. 16, 6.30. Ex-prison C.O.s especially welcomed. Davenport Rd. Hall, Catford. Tickets 2s. from Charles Harding, 88 Birkhall Rd., S.E.6.

SERVICE of Intercession for starving Europe, conducted by Bishop Crotty and Rev. Sam Rowley at St. Pancras Church, Euston Rd., 7 p.m. Tues., Jan. 12. Speakers: Howard Kershner (U.S.A.), Emile Cammaerts (Belgium). Collection for food relief.

### PERSONAL

INTRODUCTIONS by post between pacifists, progressives, and other PN readers. Profits for Peace. Stamp brings particulars. Box 554 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

CAPABLE HELPER required in house and village shop; good home; refugee considered. Jeffrey, Walsall, Nottingham.

GARDENER, lady or gentleman, or married couple, to live as family. Marian Sykes Guest House, Ross-on-Wye.

GIRL leaving school required for Peace News office. Apply personally 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

HOUSEKEEPER required by vegetarian family of three. 30s. weekly. Help employed. Peck, 32 Greenhill Rd., Leicester.

Published on 3 Blackstock Rd., London N.4 by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Cliffoe Printing Co., (T.U.) London N.16

### ACCOMMODATION

CAN ANYONE use half-furnished house? Lovely Lake District position; miles from anywhere; good equipment; garage; 3 acre garden; very cheap rent for 2-year term. Box 677 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

FATHER (professional), with daughter aged 2 yrs., seeks home with good Christian family fond of children, animals, and higher thought, London or suburbs. Box 648 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 8 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

URGENTLY REQUIRED, house or bungalow, Potters Bar, Barnet district. Can offer exchange bungalow, Ruslip or Welwyn. Kohl, Meadow, Sherwood Av., Potters Bar.

WANTED, small self-contained furnished flat, two bedrooms, sitting-room, bathroom, telephone; near Kensington Gardens or Hampstead Garden Suburb; moderate rent. Box 676 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG Christian Pacifist couple engaged in social work urgently require unfurnished flat N.W. London or anywhere Bakerloo Lines. Middleton, 41 Somerset Rd., Harrow.

### EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 82 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

### FOR SALE & WANTED

LAMB BRAND RIBBONS, cleanest, longest; 3s. 6d. each, 10s. three, 18s. 6d. six; state typewriter, colour(s). Dense black carbons, quarto, foolscap, 10s. hundred (minimum). All postage paid. Compare values. Lamb's (PN) 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

UNDERWOOD Office Typewriter, brief carriage. Enfield group wishes to exchange for portable. Write Watkinson, 37 Gordon Hill, Enfield.

### LAND & COMMUNITY

COOK-HOUSEKEEPER, capable of catering 20-30 persons; also Domestic Worker, required for new community experiment. Must be conscientious worker and fond of country. Box 664 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### FENNER BROCKWAY WILL MORRIS

### CHRIST CHURCH HALL

Parker's Road, BERMONDSEY.  
Wednesday, January 13, 7.30 p.m.

### RATCLIFFE'S PAMPHLETS

4d. each. 5d. post free.

"Why This War Came?"

"The Truth About The Christian Church and War!"

"The Truth About Religion In Germany!"

"The Truth About Hitler And The R.C. Church!"

Sensational! Daring! Challenging! The Four with specimen copy of "The Vanguard" post free P.O. 1s. 6d.

B.P.L., 2 Endrick Drive, Bearsden near Glasgow.